ANG Bayan

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO - LENINISMO - KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG

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THE PARIS COMMUNE INSPIRES OUR PARTY

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP

OF THE PROLETARIAT!

P u b l i s h e d b y t h e

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

C e n t r a l L u z o n

THE PARIS COMMUNE INSPIRES OUR PARTY

A full century has passed since the Paris Commune of 1871. But its principles and lessons still inspire the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The road of armed revolution it opened is still the road trod by the proletarian revolutionaries of every country. Every revolutionary party of the proletariat is bound to follow the torch first carried by the Communards of Paris. Faithful to the revolutionary spirit of the Paris Commune, the Communist Party of the Philippines is firmly taking the road of armed revolution.

Marx stated in The Civil War in France, the undying record and interpretation of the Paris Commune: "Working men's Paris with its Commune will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

Before it was crushed by the military force of the bourgeoisie, the Paris Commune demonstrated to mankind that the working class was capable not only of destroying the bourgeois state machinery but also of replacing it with a new state, that of the working class, a dictatorship over the exploiting classes and a democracy for the erstwhile exploited classes. For seventy-two days, from March 18 to May 28, 1871, the proletariat of Paris revealed to the world the seed of a new society struggling to break out of the integument of the old society.

For the first time, Marxism as the revolutionary theory of the proletariat found incontrovertible proof in the reality of the Paris Commune. The Paris Commune became the first great milestone in the theory and practice of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his introduction to The Civil War in France, Engels said: "Of late, the social-democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the word: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

I. Smash the Bourgeois State Machine

Based on the revolutionary experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels found it necessary to "correct" the Communist Manifesto by pointing out in their 1872 preface to this great document: "One thing especially proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes' . . ." They saw fit to restate the words that are in single quotation marks from The Civil War in France.

The Paris Commune was built on the workers' resistance to the attempt of the bourgeoisie to disarm them. Instead of being disarmed, the workers put the bourgeoisie and other counter-revolutionaries to flight from Paris to Versailles. Holding forth to the dictatorship of the proletariat, they issued as their first decree: the suppression of the standing army of the bourgeoisie and its replacement of the armed people. In defense of the Paris Commune, the workers repeatedly had to repulse counter-revolution with the force of arms. From the beginning to the end, the workers refused to lay down the arms that they had come to hold as a result of the contradiction and war between Louis Napoleon and Bismarck in the Franco-Prussian War.

The fatal flaw of the Paris Commune was in its failure to carry out an offensive against Versailles while the latter was still in a state of weakness and disorganization. To gain time on the Communards, Thiers employed the counter-revolutionary dual tactic of dispatching armed detachments against Paris and pretending to sue for peace negotiations upon the failure of every counter-revolutionary expedition. Entering into an international bourgeois conspiracy against the proletariat, Thiers and Bismarck

were able to launch attacks that overpowered the Paris Commune at the cost of several thousands of worker-martyrs.

In his State and Revolution, Lenin laid great stress on the fundamental lessons of the Paris Commune that the proletariat must smash the bureaucratic-military machinery of the bourgeoisie. He carried forward the theory and practice of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The October Revolution which he led was essentially a recreation of the Paris Commune, the destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, at a new and higher stage. The betrayers of Marxism who prevailed within the Second International and preached parliamentarism became utter failures because they departed from the road opened by the Paris Commune. Because they drew principles and lessons from the Paris Commune, only the Bolsheviks were capable of seizing power and consolidating it under Lenin and Stalin.

Carrying forward the torch of the Paris Commune, Chairman Mao teaches us, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." This is the essence not only of the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in China but also of all revolutionary struggles waged by the proletariat in the one hundred years following the Paris Commune. Not a single movement or party of the proletariat has ever seized political power without following the principle of armed revolution. On the other hand, it has been the sad experience of the proletariat in many countries to be betrayed by leaders who maneuver communist parties into being disarmed because of the craven desire to take official seats in the reactionary state.

In the Philippines, negative lessons are amply provided by the opportunist leadership of the Lavas and Tarucs. The Lavas and Tarucs failed much as they wanted to become members of the reactionary congress in a puppet government just after World War II. The armed reactionaries could always violate their own electoral laws, unseat the elected and use guns to suppress the masses. Even when it was clear that a determined people's war had to be waged, the Lavas and Tarucs had no singleness of purpose in continuing the armed struggle. When in 1948 the mass clamor for armed struggle had become too clear to be disregarded by the opportunist leaders of the old merger party, Taruc was allowed to bargain for an amnesty with the enemy and Jose Lava had a memorandum submitted to the reactionary congress pledging loyalty to the reactionary constitution and government. While it is true that the principle of armed revolution seemed to have been fully accepted by the Lava-Taruc leadership in 1950, the adventurist line of quick military victory in two years and the purely military viewpoint were promoted and implemented to undermine the revolutionary mass movement.

Under the direction of the Soviet modern revisionists today, the opportunist leaders of the old merger party, the defilers of the Paris Commune, have crept out like toads from their more than two decades of hibernation to sabotage and subvert the revolutionary mass movement by peddling bourgeois parliamentarism. They are going against the tide of armed revolution and against the revolutionary tradition of the Paris Commune made richer and more powerful by the October Revolution and the Chinese revolution. The Lava revisionist renegades will certainly find themselves impotent before the proletarian revolutionaries of today who are inspired by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the most truthful and effective summing-up of the world proletarian revolution since the Paris Commune.

Modern revisionism promoted by the Soviet social-imperialists is the main danger within the world proletarian revolutionary movement. The Soviet revisionist renegades wish to misrepresent the Paris Commune as a peaceful venture of the proletariat. Like their revisionist predecessors in the Second International, the modern revisionists will find themselves thrown in the dustbin of history in the present era. Their line of counter-revolutionary violence against Marxist-Leninists, against the proletariat and against the people is rapidly isolating them and thoroughly putting t them clearly on the side of U.S. imperialism.

II. Build a Marxist-Leninist Party

The Paris Commune has taught us that for the proletariat to lead the revolution and overthrow the bourgeoisie there must be a revolutionary party of the proletariat that is strong ideologically, politically and organizationally. The revolutionary practice of the Paris Commune clarified the need for a central body of leadership to guide the vigorous movement of the revolutionary masses. The National Guards, the body of armed workers, that seized Paris from the bourgeoisie looked up to a Central Committee of leadership. As of March 26, the Paris Commune was elected by the workers as a representative body to lead them.

Though the International Workingmen's Association, the leading organizer and spirit of which was Marx, was blamed by the bourgeoisie for leading the revolt of the workers, it did not carry the preponderant influence among the workers; Marxism had not yet been grasped by the majority of workers. Blanquism and Proudhonism were acknowledged by the leaders of the Paris Commune as their guide.

In practice, however, the Paris Commune disproved the Blanquist school of anarchy and the Proudhonist school of petty-bourgeois socialism and proved the correctness of Marxism. Against the anarchist tenets of Blanqui, the workers of Paris did not only destroy the bourgeois state machine but established the dictatorship of the proletariat; it was not a mere handful of intellectuals that made revolutionary triumph possible but the great mass of workers in the course of class struggle. The economic decrees of the Paris Commune disregarded Proudhon's economic teachings and had to face the facts of large-scale industry.

Learning from the experience of the Paris Commune, Lenin indefatigably built up the Bolshevik Party as the revolutionary party of the proletariat armed with Marxism. This party became the advanced detachment of the working class. It became the political leader and general staff of the proletariat in the revolution for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As an organized party of the proletariat, the Bolsheviks carried forward the torch of the Paris Commune. They opposed the renegacy of the Second International and went on to prove their correct proletarian revolutionary line by overthrowing the bourgeoisie by armed force and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung built a well-disciplined party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of criticism and linked with the broad masses of the people. This was the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. It was the leader of the people's army and of the united front of all revolutionary classes and revolutionary groups.

The Communist Party of China, following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, has opened wider the road of armed revolution by upholding and implementing the theory of waging people's war and establishing Red political power in the countryside before seizing the cities. Inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is marching toward world victory, Comrade Mao Tsetung has insisted on the road of armed revolution as the only one for the liberation of all oppressed peoples and has also discovered the theory of continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship and personally led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship in the socialist society.

Learning from the experience of the Paris Commune and all revolutionary movements following it, the Communist Party of the Philippines has been re-established under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, has taken the road of armed revolution and has striven to build a people's army, the New People's Army, to defend the broad masses of the people and seek to defeat the counter-revolutionary forces of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Taking great stock from the experience gained in the course of World War II and afterwards, the Communist Party of the Philippines has learned that to lead and build a

people's army is to truly take the road of seizing power. To lay down one's arms upon the behest of U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries and to hanker for official seats in the puppet reactionary government is to betray the revolution.

The Communist Party of the Philippines must adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in theory and practice and repudiate all revisionist and opportunist trends. It must wage a people's war in accordance with Chairman Mao's strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. It must also develop a united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the proletariat to isolate all enemy die-hards. It is absolutely necessary for a true Marxist-Leninist party to wield such powerful weapons as armed struggle and the united front.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has emerged as the supreme guide for all proletarian revolutionary parties. Within one hundred years since the Paris Commune, the world proletariat has produced a comprehensive ideology to destroy the counter-revolutionary state, establish and guarantee the growth of socialism, destroy imperialism and modern revisionism on a world scale, and assure the realization of communism in the future.

III. Rely on the Revolutionary Masses

Lenin took special note of the fact that in the autumn of 1870, a few months before the Commune, Marx warned the Paris workers that any attempt to overthrow the government would be the folly of despair. But when in March 1871, the revolutionary workers of Paris revolted against the bourgeoisie and created the Commune, Marx set the example of a true revolutionary thinker and leader by welcoming the Paris Commune and considering himself a participant. He paid tribute to the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the workers and closely studied their movement for what it was greatly worth.

The creators of history are indeed the masses. Leaders can make a summing-up and synthesize new tasks only on the basis of the revolutionary mass movement. True leadership cannot be established and cannot act correctly without relying on the masses and without learning from them. "From the masses to the masses" is the correct slogan that must be followed by the revolutionary party of the proletariat and by its cadres.

The Paris Commune showed the boundless capacity of the revolutionary masses for creating new things after they destroyed the bourgeois state machine with their own armed power. They created a new government based on a truly democratic exercise of universal suffrage among the workers. They put up a leadership from their own ranks, working conscientiously and receiving pay equal to that of the worker, with no representation allowances. Such a leadership shunned the separation of executive and legislative functions. It was the complete opposite of the parliament, a talking shop of the bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Any leader was subject to recall by the people. The Paris Commune had the attributes of a true democracy while being at the same time a class dictatorship over the exploiting classes.

The workers of Paris were capable of so much. Yet they were straining for political and economic life in a country defeated in war and in a city besieged not only by the ruffians of Thiers but also by the troops of Bismarck. How much more would the workers have been capable of had they had their own class-conscious party thoroughly instructed on Marxism! How much more would they have been capable of had they not been prevented from a revolutionary juncture with the peasant masses in the provinces of France. The Paris Commune envisioned a nationwide system of people's communes with a national delegation seated in Paris.

The correct spirit in appraising the armed struggle that persisted in the Philippines after World War II is to give tribute to the revolutionary masses and draw lessons from their experience. In so doing, it is inevitable that the series of Lava leaderships that sabotaged and misled their movement must be ruthlessly criticized. In honor of the revolutionary masses, we will even dare to say that their armed struggle after World

War II is the general rehearsal for the seizure of power that is still to come in our country.

After the anti-fascist resistance against Japan, the Lava revisionist renegades showed their utter contempt and distrust for the broad masses of the people. They helped U.S. imperialism and the landlords disarm the people after World War II. They insisted that the people were tired of war. Even now, Jesus Lava is being prompted by his imperialist and reactionary masters to prate that the Red fighters in the Hukbalahap who wanted to continue fighting were merely motivated by selfishness and were clearly incapable of waging a people's war. He still wishes to justify his bygone scheme to become a congressman at the expense of the revolutionary masses.

In the present upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in both city and countryside, a handful of persons in abject imitation of their Soviet modern revisionist masters prefer slandering the broad masses of the people to expressing verbal support for them at the least. The Lava revisionist renegades condemn the revolutionary mass movement as nothing but a minor part of a C.I.A. plot to "overthrow" their fascist puppet ally Marcos. They do everything to ingratiate themselves to U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries.

In the world proletarian revolution today, the People's Republic of China stands as the strongest bulwark of socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle because the several hundreds of millions of Chinese people have taken state affairs into their own hands; have overthrown the capitalist-roaders led by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and have revolutionized their thinking. Never before has mankind witnessed as extensive a democracy as that in China in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This extensive democracy, a revolution under proletarian dictatorship and inspired by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, has further consolidated the proletarian dictatorship, has prevented the restoration of capitalism and has guaranteed the total collapse of U.S. imperialism and the world victory of socialism in the present era.

Moved by the great spirit of the Paris Commune and the principle of proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary proletariat of the world and all its Marxist-Leninist parties are struggling to unleash the great masses of the people against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Such revolutionary struggles as those of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, Indonesia, Thailand, Palestine, Burma and others in the countryside of the world should help the proletariat in all imperialist countries. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat in all imperialist countries should in turn help all the oppressed peoples. And the proletariat and peoples who have liberated themselves from imperialism should help all oppressed peoples still fighting for their liberation.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Long live the revolutionary spirit of the Paris Commune!

--March 18, 1971

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

--In Commemoration of the Centenary of the Paris Commune
By the Editorial Departments of People's Daily, Red Flag
and Liberation Army Daily

I. The Principles of the Paris Commune Are Eternal

March 18 this year marks the centenary of the Paris Commune. Full of profound feelings of proletarian internationalism, the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people under the teaching of their great leader Chairman Mao warmly celebrate this great "festival of the proletariat"[1] together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world.

One hundred years ago the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of Paris in France staged a heroic armed uprising and founded the Paris Commune. This was the first proletarian regime in the history of mankind, the first great attempt of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune abolished the army and police of the reactionary bourgeois government and replaced them with the armed people; the gun was in the hands of the working class.

The Paris Commune broke the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus enslaving the people, founded the working class' own government, adopted a series of policies to safeguard the interests of the working people and organized the masses to take an active part in running the state.

In the fight to found and defend the proletarian regime, the heroes of the Paris Commune displayed extraordinary revolutionary initiative, soaring revolutionary enthusiasm and self-sacrificing heroism, winning the admiration of the revolutionary people generation after generation.

Although the Paris Commune failed as a result of the military onslaught and bloody suppression carried out by butcher Thiers in league with Bismarck, its historical contributions are indelible. As Marx said: The glorious movement of March 18 was "the dawn of the great social revolution which will liberate mankind from the regime of classes for ever."[2]

While the battle was still raging in a Paris darkened by the smoke of gunfire, Marx declared: "But even if the Commune is crushed, the struggle will only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed; they will declare themselves again and again until the working class achieves its liberation."[3]

What are the revolutionary principles that Marx and Engels, the great teachers of the proletariat, summed up on the basis of the practice of the Paris Commune?

In a word, "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes."[4] The proletariat must use revolutionary violence to "break" and "smash"[5] the old state machinery and carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat.[6]

In expounding this principle, Marx stressed: The first premise of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is an army of the proletariat. The working class must win the right to its emancipation on the battlefield."[7] Only by relying on revolutionary armed force can the proletariat overthrow the rule of the reactionary classes and go on to fulfill its whole historical mission.

Marx also said: The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will "be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time."[8]

As Lenin said: "One of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state" is "the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (as Marx and Engels began to call it after the Paris Commune)."9/ To persist in revolutionary violence to smash the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to maintain the bourgeois state machine and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat--this has been the focus of repeated struggles between Marxism on the one hand and revisionism, reformism, anarchism and all kinds of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology on the other, the focus of repeated struggles between the two lines in the international communist movement for the past hundred years. It is precisely on this fundamental question of the dictatorship of the proletariat that all revisionism, from the revisionism of the Second International to modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its center, has completely betrayed Marxism.

A century's history has proved to the full that the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is invincible.

Forty-six years after the Paris Commune uprising, the proletariat of Russia, led by the great Lenin, won victory in the October Socialist Revolution through armed uprising, opening up a new world era of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Lenin said: On the path of breaking the old state machine, the Paris Commune "took the first world-historical step. . . . The Soviet Government took the second."10/

Seventy-eight years after the Paris Commune uprising, the Chinese people, led by the great leader Chairman Mao, won victory in the revolution. Chairman Mao blazed a trail in establishing rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally taking the cities. He led the Chinese people through protracted revolutionary wars in overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, in breaking the old state machine and bringing about in China the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since then Chairman Mao has been leading the Chinese people in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and advancing triumphantly along the socialist road.

Fighting bravely, advancing wave upon wave and supporting and encouraging each other in the past century, the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world have been promoting the socialist revolution and the national democratic revolution and have won most brilliant victories. As Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "This is the historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down to their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory."11/ The cause of the Paris Commune is spreading far and wide at a higher stage in the new historical conditions. The world has undergone an earth-shaking change.

In commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels, with jubilant revolutionary feelings, told the European working class: "Thus the Commune which the powers of the old world believed to be exterminated, lives stronger than ever, and thus we may join you in the cry: Vive la Commune!"12/ Today, the flames of the revolutionary torch raised by the Paris Commune are ablaze throughout the world, and the days of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction are numbered. In celebrating the centenary of the Paris Commune at such a time, the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people the world over have all the more reason to shout with boundless confidence: Long live the Commune! Long live the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat!

In commemorating the Paris Commune, we should study the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, learn from historical experience, criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its center, adhere to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, and unite with the people of the world to win still greater victories.

II. It Is of the Utmost Importance for the Revolutionary People to Take Hold of the Gun

The historical experience of the Paris Commune has fully demonstrated that taking hold of revolutionary arms is of the utmost importance to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Explaining the experience of the Paris Commune, Lenin referred to Engels' important thesis that the workers emerged with arms from every revolution in France and that, therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. On this conclusion of Engels', Lenin commented: "The essence of the matter --also, by the way, on the question of the state (has the oppressed class arms?)--is here remarkably well grasped."13/

The Paris Commune was born in the fierce struggle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution. The 72 days of the Paris Commune were 72 days of armed uprising, armed struggle and armed defense. The very fact that the proletariat of Paris had taken hold of the gun struck the greatest terror into the hearts of the bourgeois reactionaries. And a fatal error of the Paris Commune lay precisely in the fact that it showed excessive magnanimity towards counter-revolution and did not march on Versailles immediately, thus giving Thiers a breathing space to muster his reactionary forces for an onslaught on revolutionary Paris. As Engels said: "Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?"14/

Comrade Mao Tsetung has concisely summed up the tremendous importance of armed struggle and the people's army and advanced the celebrated thesis "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."15/ He points out: 'According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."16/

Violent revolution is the universal principle of proletarian revolution. A Marxist-Leninist party must adhere to this universal principle and apply it to the concrete practice of its own country. Historical experience shows that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the oppressed people of a country and the seizure of victory in their revolution are accomplished invariably by the power of the gun; they are accomplished under the leadership of a proletarian party, by acting in accordance with that country's specific conditions, by gradually building up the people's armed forces and fighting a people's war on the basis of arousing the broad masses to action, and by waging repeated struggles against the imperialists and reactionaries. This is true of the Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution, and the revolutions of Albania, Vietnam, Korea and other countries, and there is no exception.

On the other hand, a proletarian party suffers setbacks in the revolution if it fails to go in for or gives up revolutionary armed force, and there have been serious lessons: Some parties failed to take hold of the gun and were helpless in the face of sudden attacks by imperialism and its lackeys and of counter-revolutionary suppression, and as a result millions of revolutionary people were massacred. In some cases where the revolutionary people had already taken up arms and their armed forces had grown considerably, certain parties handed over the people's armed forces and forfeited the fruits of the revolution because they sought official posts in bourgeois governments or were duped by the reactionaries.

In the past decades, many Communist Parties have participated in elections and parliaments, but none has set up a dictatorship of the proletariat by such means. Even if a Communist Party should win a majority in parliament or participate in the government, this would not mean any change in the character of bourgeois political power, still less the smashing of the old state machine. The reactionary ruling classes can proclaim the election null and void, dissolve the parliament or directly use violence to kick out the Communist Party. If a proletarian party does no mass work,

rejects armed struggle and makes a fetish of parliamentary elections, it will only lull the masses and corrupt itself. The bourgeoisie buys over a Communist Party through parliamentary elections and turns it into a revisionist party, a party of the bourgeoisie--are such cases rare in history?

The proletariat must use the gun to seize political power and must use the gun to defend it. The people's army under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party is the bulwark of the dictatorship of the proletariat and among the various factors for preventing the restoration of capitalism it is the main one. Having a people's army armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the proletariat can deal with any complicated situation in the domestic or international class struggle and safeguard the proletarian state.

The contemporary liberation movement of the oppressed nations is an important component part and a great ally of the proletarian world revolution. The national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are related to each other and at the same time distinct from each other; they represent two different stages and are different in character. However, to win complete victory in the national democratic revolution, it is likewise necessary to get prepared for a trial of armed strength with the imperialists and reactionaries. For the oppressed nations, it is likewise most important to take hold of the gun.

Since World War II, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States have incessantly launched wars of aggression and resorted ever more frequently to such means as military intervention, armed subversion and invasion by mercenary troops to suppress the countries and people that are fighting for or have already gained independence. Incomplete statistics show that U.S. imperialism has engineered and launched armed intervention and armed aggression on more than 50 occasions in the past 25 years. As for U.S.-engineered armed subversion, examples are too numerous to be counted. Therefore, in order to win liberation and safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty and effectively combat aggression and subversion by imperialism and its lackeys, all the oppressed nations must have their own anti-imperialist armed forces and be prepared at all times to counter wars of aggression with revolutionary wars. The war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia has set a brilliant example to the oppressed nations and people all over the world. The struggles against aggression and subversion waged by the people of many other countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America have likewise provided valuable experience.

In his solemn statement "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!", Chairman Mao points out: A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."17/

As Comrade Lin Piao says, "people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys."18/ The proletariat and the oppressed people and nations the world over will all change from being unarmed and unskilled in warfare to taking up arms and being skilled in warfare. U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys will eventually be burned to ashes in the fiery flames of the people's wars they themselves have kindled.

III. Revolution Is the Cause of the Masses in Their Millions

The historical experience of the Paris Commune tells us that to be victorious in the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat it is imperative to rely on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses in their millions and give full play to their great power as the makers of history. Lenin said: "The autocracy cannot be abolished without the revolutionary action of class-conscious millions, without a great surge of mass heroism, readiness and ability on their part to 'storm heaven' as Marx put it when speaking of the Paris workers at the time of the Commune."19/

Marx, the great teacher of the proletariat, highly valued the revolutionary initiative of the masses of the people and set us a brilliant example of the correct attitude to adopt towards the revolutionary mass movement.

In the autumn of 1870, prior to the founding of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the conditions were not ripe for an uprising by the French workers. But when the proletariat of Paris did rise in revolt with heaven-storming revolutionary heroism in March 1871, Marx, regarding himself as a participant, promptly and firmly supported and helped this proletarian revolution. Although he perceived the mistakes of the Commune and foresaw its defeat, Marx considered the revolution the most glorious exploit of the French working class. For he regarded this movement "as a historic experience of enormous importance, as a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, as a practical step that was more important than hundreds of programmes and arguments."20/ In a letter to L. Kugelmann at that time, Marx expressed his fervent praise: "What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!" "History has no like example of like greatness!"21/ Lenin saw in this letter a gulf between the proletarian revolutionaries and the opportunists and hoped that it would be "hung in the home . . . of every literate Russian worker."22/

Contrary to the Marxists, all the opportunists and old and new revisionists oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and they inevitably have a mortal fear of and bitter hatred for the masses, and they deride, curse and sabotage the revolutionary mass movement. When the Russian armed uprising of December 1905 failed, Plekhanov stood aloof and accused the masses, saying: "They should not have taken to arms." Lenin indignantly criticized Plekhanov's aristocratic attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement and denounced him as an infamous Russian renegade from Marxism. Lenin pointed out that without the "general rehearsal" of 1905, victory in the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible.

In 1959, when our great teacher Chairman Mao denounced the Peng Teh-huai Right-opportunist anti-Party clique for slandering and opposing the revolutionary mass movement, he sharply told these anti-Marxist renegades:

"Please look and see how Marx and Lenin commented on the Paris Commune, and Lenin on the Russian revolution!" "Do you see how Lenin criticized the renegade Plekhanov and those 'bourgeois gentlemen and their hangers-on', 'the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind them'? If not, will you please have a look?"23/ Chairman Mao used this historical experience as a profound lesson to educate the whole Party and urged our Party members and cadres to follow the example of Marx and Lenin and take a correct attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement.

"Revolution is the main trend in the world today."24/ All round the globe, the people are thundering: Down with the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! The strategic rear areas of imperialism have become front lines in the anti-imperialist struggle. The victorious development of the war of the three peoples of Indochina against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has pushed the worldwide anti-U.S. struggle to a new high. The struggle against the doctrine of the hegemony of the two superpowers is gaining momentum. The national liberation movement in Asia and Africa is shooting forward as violently as a raging fire. The struggle of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries is daily surging ahead. The Palestinian and other Arab people are continuing their advance in the fight against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors. Revolutionary mass movements on an unprecedented scale have broken out in North America, Europe and Oceania. The workers, students, black people and other minority peoples in the United States are daily awakening and rising in a revolutionary storm against the reactionary rule of the Nixon government and its policy of aggression. In Latin America, the 'backyard' of U.S. imperialism, the long-suppressed anti-U.S. fury in the hearts of the people has now burst forth, and a new situation has emerged characterized by joint struggle for

the defence of their national interests and state sovereignty. The revolutionary struggle of the people in certain East European countries against social-imperialism is in the ascendant. The spring thunder of revolution is sounding even in hitherto relatively quiescent areas. Reacting on and encouraging each other, these struggles have merged into the powerful torrent of the world people's revolutionary movement.

In the face of the present great revolutionary movement, every revolutionary party and every revolutionary will have to make a choice. To march at the head of the masses and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries must warmly support the revolutionary actions of the masses, firmly march at the head of the mass movement and lead the masses forward.

The political parties of the proletariat and all revolutionaries "ought to face the world and brave the storm, the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle."25/ They must share weal and woe with the masses, modestly learn from them, be their willing pupils, be good at discovering their revolutionary initiative and draw wisdom and strength from them. Only by plunging into the mighty storm of the mass movement can a political party of the proletariat temper itself and grow in maturity. And only through the practice of the masses in class struggle can a correct programme or line be formulated, developed, tested and carried out.

The mainstream of the revolutionary mass movement is always good and always conforms to the development of society. In the mass movement various trends of thought exert their influence, various factions emerge and various kinds of people take part. This is only natural. Nothing on earth is absolutely pure. Through their practice in struggle and repeated comparison, the broad masses of the people will eventually distinguish between what is correct and what is erroneous; they will eventually cast aside revisionism and all that is erroneous and accept and grasp the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism. A proletarian party must go deep among the masses and work patiently, painstakingly and for a long time, so as constantly to raise their political consciousness and lead the mass movement forward along the correct road.

The question of first importance for the revolution is to distinguish between enemies and friends, to unite with our real friends and attack our real enemies. The development of the revolutionary mass movement calls for the constant strengthening of unity within the revolutionary forces and the smashing of the plots to split and sabotage hatched by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. The people, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population--the workers, peasants, students and all those who refuse to be oppressed by imperialism--invariably want to make revolution. In order to defeat U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs, it is imperative to form a broad united front, unite with all forces that can be united, the enemy excepted, and carry out arduous struggle.

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party."26/ We must rely on the masses and launch mass movements when we fight for political power. We must likewise rely on the masses, launch mass movements and adhere to the mass line in all our work when we engage in the socialist revolution and socialist construction after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "As long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty."27/

IV. It Is Essential to Have a Genuine Marxist-Leninist Party

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels explicitly stated: "In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to all old parties formed by the propertied classes."28/ This is a condition

indispensable to seizing victory in the proletarian revolution, establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and realizing the ultimate goal of abolishing classes.

The fundamental cause of the failure of the Paris Commune was that, owing to the historical conditions, Marxism had not yet achieved a dominant position in the workers' movement and a proletarian revolutionary party with Marxism as its guiding thought had not yet come into being. On the other hand, Blanquism and Proudhonism which were then dominant in the Paris Commune could not possibly lead the proletarian revolution to victory.

Historical experience shows that where a very favorable revolutionary situation and revolutionary enthusiasm on the part of the masses exist, it is still necessary to have a strong core of leadership of the proletariat, that is, "a revolutionary party . . . built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style."29/ Only such a party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses in defeating imperialism and its running dogs and winning victory in the revolution.

A revolutionary situation appeared in many countries at the time of World War I. However, since almost all the political parties of the Second International had degenerated into revisionist, social-chauvinist parties, it was out of the question for them to lead the proletariat in seizing political power. Only in Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin, was the Great October Socialist Revolution crowned with success.

During and after World War II, the revolution triumphed in China thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader; in some other countries, also under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties, the revolution was victorious or protracted revolutionary struggles were persevered in. But in certain countries, the revolution failed because the opportunist, revisionist line had got the upper hand in the parties.

For world revolution the situation today is better than ever before. The objective situation urgently demands strong leadership by genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, and the building of proletarian revolutionary parties which completely break with the revisionist line, which are consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally and which have a broad mass character.

To be able to lead the revolution, it is of fundamental importance for a proletarian party to take Marxism-Leninism as its guiding thought, integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country, and formulate and implement a correct line suited to the conditions of that country. With a correct line, a weak force can grow strong, armed forces can be built up from scratch, and political power can be attained. With an erroneous line, the revolution will suffer setbacks and the gains already won will be forfeited.

In leading the Chinese people's revolution through protracted struggles, Comrade Mao Tsetung repeatedly pointed out: "As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution"30/ and "it has been the consistent ideological principle of our Party to closely integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution."31/

Comrade Mao Tsetung further expounded this fundamental principle in his important inscription written for Japanese worker friends: "The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution."32/

A proletarian party should, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to carry out deep-going investigations and study of the class relations in

society, make concrete analyses of the present conditions and the history of its own country and the characteristics of the revolution in that country, and solve the theoretical and practical problems of the revolution independently. It is necessary to learn from international experience, which, however, should not be copied mechanically; a proletarian party should creatively develop its own experience in the light of the realities of its own country. Only thus can it guide the revolution to victory and contribute to the cause of the proletarian world revolution.

To keep on integrating theory with practice, a proletarian party must maintain close ties with the masses, go deep among them and adopt the method of leadership, "from the masses, to the masses,"33/ so that the party's correct line and principles can be translated into mass action. At the same time it should be good at summing up experience and lessons, carry out criticism and self-criticism, persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong in the interests of the people, and find out the laws of development through practice in struggle and then use them to guide the practical struggle.

Comrade Mao Tsetung says: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society."34/ To ensure that its political line is correct and its organization consolidated, a proletarian party must conduct uncompromising struggles against opportunism and revisionism of every description, against the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement, is a protracted one. For more than a decade, the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labor and all the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world have together waged a resolute ideological, theoretical and political struggle against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its center and have won great victories. But the struggle is by no means over. To keep on promoting the proletarian world revolution, the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary people in various countries have an important task to fulfill, namely, to continue criticizing modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its center and carry this struggle through to the end.

The ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes have long dominated society. The bourgeoisie invariably does its utmost to influence, corrupt and "corrode" the Communist Party ideologically by every means and through every channel, whether in developed capitalist countries or in economically backward countries; whether the status of the Communist Party is legal or not; whether before the seizure of political power by the proletariat or after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If a proletarian party fails to wage resolute struggles against the inroads of bourgeois ideology, it cannot possibly maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and will turn into an appendage of the bourgeoisie and its political parties. The proletarian party can bring its fighting strength into play and achieve victory in the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat only by using Marxism-Leninism as its weapon of criticism and sticking to class struggle in the realm of ideology to defeat the reactionary bourgeois world outlook with the proletarian world outlook.

V. The Modern Revisionists Are Renegades From the Revolutionary Principles of the Paris Commune

At the time when the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world are marking the grand centenary of the Paris Commune, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is putting on an act, talking glibly about "loyalty to the principles of the Commune"35/ and making itself up as the successor to the Paris Commune. It has no sense of shame at all.

What right have the Soviet revisionist renegades to talk about the Paris Commune? It is these renegades who have usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, and as a result the Soviet state founded by

Lenin and defended by Stalin has changed its political color. It is they who have turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and put social-imperialism and social fascism into force. This is gross betrayal of the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune.

From Khrushchov to Brezhnev, all have tried to mask their dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as the "state of the whole people". Khrushchov used to say that the Soviet Union had been "transformed . . . into a state of the whole people".36/ Now Brezhnev and his ilk say that theirs is a "Soviet socialist state of the whole people"37/ and that what they practise is "Soviet democracy". All this is humbug.

The Soviet, a great creation of the Russian proletariat, embodied the fact that the working people were masters in their own house, and it was a glorious title. However, the name "Soviet", like the name "Communist Party", can be used by Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, by Marxist-Leninists or revisionists. What is decisive is not the name but the essence, not the form but the content. In the Soviet Union today, the name "Soviet" has not changed, nor has the name of the state, but the class content has changed completely. With its leadership usurped by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the Soviet state is no longer an instrument with which the proletariat suppresses the bourgeoisie, but has become a tool with which the restored bourgeoisie suppresses the proletariat. The Soviet revisionist renegades have turned the Soviet Union into a paradise for a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalists of a new type, a prison for the millions of working people. This is the whole content of what they call a "Soviet socialist state of the whole people" and "Soviet democracy". It is by no means the fact that "the state of the whole people is a direct continuation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat,"38/ but rather that Brezhnev's line is a "direct continuation" of Khrushchov's line. This is essentially why Brezhnev and his like are clinging desperately to the slogan of the "state of the whole people".

Their frenzied opposition to violent proletarian revolution is another concentrated expression of the betrayal of the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Brezhnev and his company clamorously demand of "the leaders of the proletariat to reduce violence to the minimum at every stage of the struggle and employ milder forms of compulsion"; they bleat that "armed struggle and civil war are accompanied by colossal sacrifices and sufferings on the part of the masses of the people, by destruction of the productive forces, and by the annihilation of the best revolutionary cadres." To find a pretext for their fallacy of "peaceful transition", this group of renegades wantonly distort history, even preaching that the Paris Commune was "initially" an "almost completely bloodless revolution".39/

The revolution of the Paris Commune was from beginning to end a life-and-death fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle of violence between revolution and counter-revolution. In less than six months before the Paris Commune uprising, the people of Paris had staged two armed uprisings, and both were bloodily suppressed by the reactionaries. And in the battles following the uprising, tens of thousands of workers and other working people laid down their lives. How can this revolution be described as an "initially" "almost completely bloodless revolution"? Marx pointed out: "Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."40/ The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has now come out into the open and is playing the part of the priests saying prayers for the exterminators. This is a monstrous insult to the martyrs of the Paris Commune!

The Soviet revisionist renegades try in a hundred and one ways to justify counter-revolutionary violence, but they curse revolutionary violence with clenched teeth. Under the rule of violence by imperialism and the reactionaries, the working people suffer unending pain and large numbers of them die every day, every hour. It is precisely to put an end to

this man-eating system so as to free the people from exploitation and enslavement that the oppressed people carry out violent revolution. But the Soviet revisionist renegades level so many criminal charges against the revolutionary armed forces and their revolutionary wars, making allegations about the "sufferings of the people", the "annihilation of cadres" and "destruction of the productive forces", and so on and so forth. Doesn't this logic of theirs mean that the first law under heaven is for the imperialists and reactionaries to oppress and massacre the people, whereas it is a hellish crime for the revolutionary people to take up arms and rise in resistance?

The Soviet revisionist renegades want the people of all countries to reduce revolutionary violence "to the minimum", but they themselves keep on increasing counter-revolutionary violence to the maximum. Indifferent to the life or death of Soviet people, Brezhnev and his gang are going all out for militarism and the arms race, spending more and more rubles on more and more planes, guns, warships, guided missiles and nuclear weapons. It is by means of this monstrous apparatus of violence that these new tsars oppress the broad masses at home and maintain their colonial rule abroad, trying to bring a number of countries under their control. It is this apparatus of violence that they are using as capital for bargaining with U.S. imperialism, pushing power politics and dividing spheres of influence.

The Soviet revisionist renegades want the revolutionary people to employ "milder forms of compulsion" against counter-revolution, while they themselves use the most savage and brutal means to deal with the revolutionary people.

May we ask:

Is it a "milder" form when you send large numbers of armed troops and police to suppress the people of different nationalities in your country?

Is it a "milder" form when you station large numbers of troops in some East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic to impose a tight control over them, and even carry out the military occupation in Czechoslovakia, driving tanks into Prague?

And is it a "milder" form when you engage in military expansion everywhere and insidiously conduct all manner of subversive activities against other countries?

What the Soviet revisionist renegades have done fully shows that they not only oppose violent revolution but use violence to oppose revolution. They put on benevolent airs, but actually they are "the worst enemies of the workers--wolves in sheep's clothing".[41]

And there is a Miyamoto revisionist clique in Japan, which, too, zealously opposes violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and urges that it is "necessary to make every effort"[42] to take the parliamentary road. Racking their brains, they allege that according to the dictionary the word "violence" means "brute force" or "lawless force", and the people should not make such a revolution.[43] They also say that some people are "frightened" by the phrase--the dictatorship of the proletariat--which is a "very inappropriate" translation, and it is necessary to "make a really accurate translation" in the future.[44] In order to maintain U.S. imperialist and Japanese militarist violence and to oppose the Japanese people making revolution, the Miyamoto clique even seeks help from the dictionary, falls back on semantics and juggles with words. How modern revisionism has degenerated ideologically!

Comrade Mao Tsetung points out: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will."[45] Khrushchov, the arch-representative of modern revisionism, has long been swept into the rubbish heap of history. Novotny and Gomulka, who followed Khrushchov's revisionist line, have also toppled in their turn. There can be no doubt that whoever runs counter to the laws of history, betrays the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune and turns traitor to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat will come to no good end.

VI. Persist in Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Strive for Still Greater Victories

Historical experience since the Paris Commune, and especially since the October Revolution, shows that the capture of political power by the proletariat is not the end but the beginning of the socialist revolution. To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, it is necessary to carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

The world proletarian revolutionary movement has gone through twists and turns on its road forward. When capitalism was being restored in the homeland of the October Revolution, for a time it seemed doubtful whether the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were still valid. The imperialists and reactionaries were beside themselves with joy. They thought: Since the Soviet Union has changed through "peaceful evolution", won't it be possible to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in China in the same way? But, the salvoes of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself have destroyed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and exploded the imperialists' and modern revisionists' fond dream of restoring capitalism in China.

Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the positive and negative aspects of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and solved, in theory and practice, the most important question of our time--the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Thus he has made a great new contribution to Marxism-Leninism and charted our course for carrying the proletarian revolution triumphantly to the end. In China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line are being integrated more and more deeply with the revolutionary practice of the people in their hundreds of millions to become the greatest force in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this period, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The struggle still focuses on the question of political power. The defeated class will still struggle; these people are still around and this class still exists. They will invariably seek their agents within the Communist Party for the purpose of restoring capitalism. Therefore, the proletariat must not only guard against enemies like Thiers and Bismarck who overthrew the revolutionary political power by force of arms; it must in particular guard against such careerists and schemers as Khrushchov and Brezhnev who usurped party and state leadership from within. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism, the proletariat must carry out the socialist revolution not only on the economic front, but also on the political front and ideological and cultural front and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. It is essential to enable the Party members, the cadres and the masses to grasp the sharpest weapon, Marxism-Leninism, and to distinguish between the correct and erroneous lines, between genuine and sham Marxism, and between materialism and idealism, so as to ensure that our Party and state will always advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao says: "The final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."[46]

The revolutionary movement of the proletariat is always international in character. Therefore, the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat calls for the realization of the great slogans: "Working men of all countries, unite!"47/ and "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!"48/ The proletariat of the capitalist countries should support the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the people of the colonies and semi-colonies should support that of the proletariat of the capitalist countries, and the people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help the people who are still fighting for liberation. This is the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution. The revolutionary cause of the Chinese people is closely bound up with that of the other peoples of the world. We always regard the revolutionary struggles of the people of other countries as our own and as helping the Chinese people. We should learn from other revolutionary peoples, firmly support their struggles and fulfill our bounden duty. We should carry forward the proletarian internationalist spirit, further strengthen our militant unity with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, and strengthen our militant unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world for the seizure of still greater victories.

A hundred years ago, Marx said of the Paris Commune: "Whatever . . . its fate at Paris, it will make le tour du monde."49/ This great prediction of Marx's is more and more becoming a glorious reality. Reviewing the past and looking into the future, we declare with increasing conviction: The final destruction of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction is inevitable, and so is the complete emancipation of the proletariat, the oppressed people and the oppressed nations!

The Internationale written by Eugene Pottier, the poet of the Paris Commune, is today reverberating through the world. "No more tradition's chain shall bind us." "We shall be all." "Let each stand in his place; The Internationale shall be the human race!" Let the imperialists, social-imperialists and all reactionaries tremble in the great storm of the world people's revolution! "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."50/

Notes

1/ Engels, "Message of Greetings to the French Workers on the 21st Anniversary of the Paris Commune", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 331.

2/ Marx, "Resolutions of the Meeting in Honor of the First Anniversary of the Paris Commune", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 18, p. 61.

3/ Marx, "The Record of a Speech on the Paris Commune", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 17, p. 677.

4/ Marx, "The Civil War in France", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 17, p. 355.

5/ Ibid., p. 360.

6/ Marx, "To L. Kugelmann", April 12, 1871, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the Paris Commune, 2nd Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, 1971, p. 215.

7/ Marx, "On the Seventh Anniversary of the International", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 17, p. 468.

8/ Ibid.

9/ Marx, "The Civil War in France", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 17, p. 358.

9/ Lenin, "The State and Revolution", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 25, p. 389.

10/ Lenin, "First Congress of the Communist International", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 28, p. 443.

11/ Mao Tsetung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 1260.

12/ Marx and Engels, "To the Chairman of the Slavonic Meeting in London in Celebration of the Anniversary of the Paris Commune", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 19, p. 271.

13/ Lenin, "The State and Revolution", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 25, p. 436.

14/ Engels, "On Authority", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 18, p. 344.

15/ Mao Tsetung, "Problems of War and Strategy", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 2, p. 535.

16/ Ibid.

17/ Mao Tsetung, "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!", May 20, 1970.

18/ Lin Piao, "Long Live the Victory of People's War!", September 3, 1965.

19/ Lenin, "The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the Russian Revolution", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 15, p. 152.

20/ Lenin, "The State and Revolution", Collected Works, Chinese ed. Vol. 25, p. 401.

21/ Marx, "To L. Kugelmann", April 12, 1871, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the Paris Commune, 2nd Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, 1971, p. 215.

22/ Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation of the Letters of K. Marx to L. Kugelmann", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 12, p. 101.

23/ Chairman Mao's instruction on "The Correct Attitude Marxists Should Take Towards the Revolutionary Mass Movement", August 15, 1959, where he quotes Lenin's "A Great Beginning" and "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 386 and Vol. 33, p. 35.

24/ See note 17.

25/ Mao Tsetung, "Get Organized!", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 936.

26/ From "Absorb Proletarian Fresh Blood", editorial of the journal Hongqi, No. 4, 1968.

27/ Mao Tsetung, "On Coalition Government", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 1097.

28/ Marx and Engels, "Resolutions of the General Congress of the International Working Men's Association Held at the Hague", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 18, p. 165.

29/ Mao Tsetung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 1360.

30/ Mao Tsetung, "Reform Our Study", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 795.

31/ Mao Tsetung, "Opening Address at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", September 15, 1956.

32/ Chairman Mao's important inscription for Japanese worker friends, September 18, 1962, Renmin Ribao, September 18, 1968.

33/ Mao Tsetung, "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 3, p. 901.

34/ Mao Tsetung, "On Contradiction", Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Chinese ed., Vol. 1, p. 294.

35/ "The Paris Commune and the Present", article in Soviet revisionist Kommunist, No. 2, 1971.

36/ N. S. Khrushchov's report on the "Programme of the C.P.S.U." at the Soviet revisionist "22nd Congress", October 18, 1961.

37/ L.I. Brezhnev's report at the meeting in "commemoration" of the centenary of Lenin's birth, April 21, 1970.

38/ "The State of the Whole People and Democracy", article in the Soviet revisionist Pravda, June 7, 1970.

39/ Sinister anti-China book compiled by F. Konstantinov and others, Russian ed., the "Mysl" Publishing House, U.S.S.R., published in August 1970, pp. 119-120.

40/ Marx, "The Civil War in France", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 17, p. 384.

41/ Engels, "Preface to the Second German Edition of 'The Condition of the Working Class in England', 1892", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 373.

42/ Sanzo Nosaka's talk, Akahata, January 3, 1971.

43/ Korchito Kurahara's speech at a Japanese revisionists' meeting in "commemoration" of the centenary of Lenin's birth, Akahata, April 2, 1970.

44/ Kenji Miyamoto's speech at a meeting convened by the Japanese revisionist Kyoto committee, Akahata, March 20, 1970.

45/ Mao Tsetung, "Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution", November 6, 1957.

46/ From Comrade Lin Piao's report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

47/ Marx and Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Chinese ed., People's Publishing House, 1964, p. 56.

48/ Lenin, "Speech at the Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organizations of the R.C.P. (B)", Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol 31, p. 412.

49/ Marx, "The First Draft of 'The Civil War in France'", Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 17, p. 587.

50/ See note 47.

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